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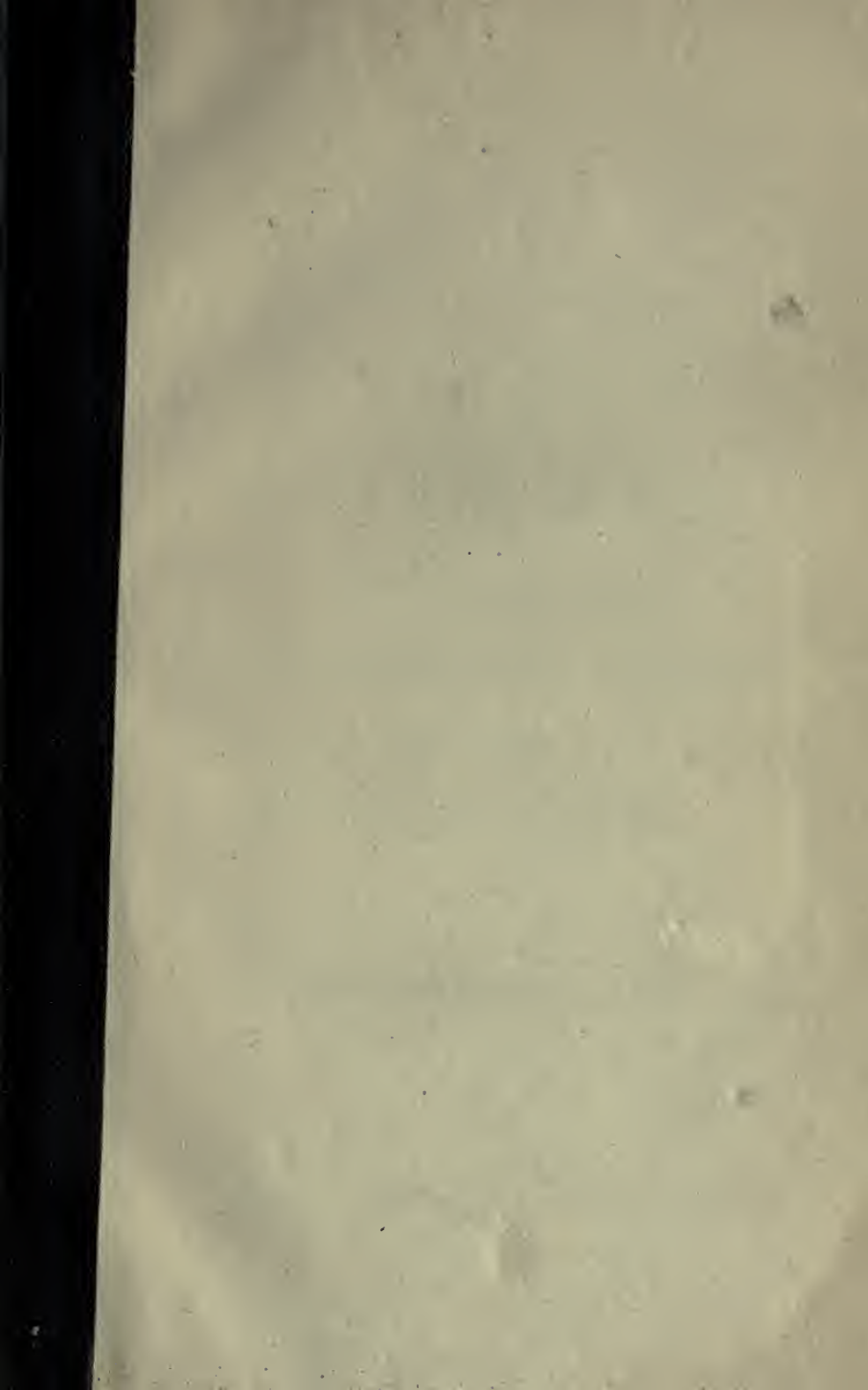
Stair, John Dalrymple, 5th Earl
of

An attempt to balance the in-
come and expenditure of the state.

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TO BALANCE THE
INCOME and EXPENDITURE
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S T A T E, &c.

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Stair, John Dalrymple, 5th Earl of
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A T T E M P T

TO BALANCE THE
INCOME and EXPENDITURE
OF THE

S T A T E :

WITH SOME
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
NATURE and TENDENCY
OF THE LATE

POLITICAL STRUGGLES for POWER.

By JOHN EARL of STAIR.
Dalrymple, 5th

Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures.

438154
23.8.43

THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. STOCKDALE, opposite Burlington-House,
Piccadilly.

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A N
A T T E M P T
TO BALANCE THE
INCOME and EXPENDITURE
OF THE
S T A T E, &c.

IN the happy expectation of a Definitive Peace soon to be concluded with our foreign enemies, and at the period, (auspicious I hope, durable I wish) of a truce being given to domestic anarchy, an epoch certainly occurs very proper to
state

state to the Public the situation of the Public Finances; for by this, amongst other advantages hereafter to be noticed, their new servants will be entitled to claim the indulgence of an informed Public if they make things no worse, and may demand their praise if they make them any better than they are.

I AM well aware that many Articles I mean to state in round numbers, and somewhat at hazard, will in course of time be to be had authentically and correctly from papers that will be laid before Parliament; but these are produced in so piecemeal and so dilatory a manner, that the public curiosity is intirely past, and even the interest they take in them is cold, before the parts can be collected and connected together. In the mean time, new and great Money-negotiations and Loans must take place; for such is the public rapacity, and so great the hopes of success arising from the enormous profits made on the last Loans, that the only incontrovertibly popular act a

Minister

Minister can do at present, is to borrow large sums for the Public at high interest.

YET in this universal Influenza of lending money to the Public, some few Adventurers may, perhaps, wish to know nearly on what grounds and security they are to risque their fortunes. Tho' I do not, tho' I cannot pretend to state these matters to them, (some of which will not be ascertained for many months to come) with a fractional exactness, or indeed any thing near it; yet, allowing my errors to compensate one another, I dare, I think, pledge myself to them and to the Public, that on the general balance I shall not be found to err (the amazing extent of the subject considered) to an amount materially to alter any consequences which may be drawn from the true authenticated account, whenever it shall appear. I must be understood only to pledge myself for the Expenditure Part of the Public Finances. The Income Part is a negative proposition, and cannot be proved farther than by analogical rea-

soning and precedent, which are hitherto uniformly in the favour of my hypothesis, viz. *That the Incomes of this Country cannot be brought much to exceed Twelve Millions net yearly.*

THESE considerations premised and allowed, I proceed to state the amount of the national annual Peace-Expenditure,

THE annual demand on the Public for the Debts already funded, amounts to Seven Millions Four Hundred and Seventy-one Thousand Three Hundred and Forty-six Pounds (besides some claims of expences at the Bank not yet, I believe; allowed). Of Unfunded Debt of various denominations and descriptions, including what will be wanted for the East-India Company, and the Arrear of the War of every kind, parts of which will be coming in for some years to come; I say, all and every part of Unfunded Debt reckoned and carried to account, I am confident the whole sum will amount to Forty Millions at least; which

at an interest of five per cent. (in which is included the expence at the Bank, and the advantages usually given to Subscribers to Loans) will amount to Two Millions yearly. The Civil List, allowing a reasonable Establishment for the PRINCE OF WALES, and not resorting to visionary impracticable Reforms, but to the allowed, universally admitted progression of expences from Infancy to Manhood and Womanhood in a Royal Family so numerous as ours is, may fairly and reasonably be stated at Eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly.

THE Peace-Establishment is a matter of great difficulty, and cannot at soonest be ascertained correctly till the year after next, when almost the whole of the War Expence will probably be wound up, and consequently the necessity of a Loan should cease; but if an adequate defence is kept up proportionable to the armed state of Europe, and the unbroken condition of the navies and armies of our late enemies, Thirty Thousand Seamen

Seamen will certainly be required, and a Land Force possibly not very much inferior to what was kept up at the close of the War before the last, and an Ordnance equal to the Peace-Estimate already given in to Parliament. I say, if this is done; and it ought and must be done, if the Half-pay of the Army, each Regiment being kept compleat in Officers to the very hour of its dismissal, *I suppose, to avoid fractions*: if the half-pay of the Navy, where the Officers are at least as numerous as the ships they had to command or serve in were: if the large demands from the Refugees and Loyalists, not made the less from the attention shewn to them by the Majority in Parliament, certainly with no view to depreciate at the public expence a Peace made by their antagonists the Minority: if the Government is obliged to take the protection of the India Company's territorial acquisitions upon themselves; and they must either do so, or they will be lost, and involve in their ruin that of the East-India Company, and with them our whole System of Finance: if, I say, all these differ-

rent

rent demands are considered, provided for, and carried to account, the comparatively scanty Peace-Establishment for 1774*, having amounted to upwards of Four Millions, I dare pronounce with absolute certainty, that our present Peace-Establishment cannot cost less than Five Millions Five Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly.

I SHALL now proceed to bring the foregoing Articles under the eye at once, by stating them in Figures.

* In order to evince the amount of the Peace-Establishment of 1774, the state thereof is here adjoined, from the Author's State of the National Debt, published in 1776.

Peace-Establishment will amount at least to 4,200,000l.

P R O O F.

The year 1774 is taken as a fair equal year: If taken for three years preceding 1775, when the American troubles began, the average expence will be greater; if taken for seven years, it will be considerably greater: Consequently 1774 is a fair, if not a favourable, year.

Navy in 1774 amounted to	—	—	£. 1,904,917
Navy Extraordinaries, called Navy Debt, at a low average	—	—	300,000
			<hr/>
			2,204,917
Ordnance, ordinary and extraordinary	—	—	271,174
Army	—	—	1,549,720
Miscellaneous	—	—	60,252
Unforeseen contingencies that year on account of the new coinage amounted to 250,000l. but say the yearly average is	—	—	100,000
Expences of the Lottery, and Interest of Unfunded Debt, about	—	—	85,000
			<hr/>
Peace-Establishment is	—	—	4,271,063
Which is what was to be proved.			

ANNUAL PEACE-EXPENDITURE.

The Interest of the Debt already funded with the Premiums thereon amount yearly to	- - -	£ 7,471,346
The Unfunded Debt of every description and denomination amounting (it is presumed), when all shall be brought in, to nearly Forty Millions, which at 5 per cent. not stating any thing for management at the Bank, and including advantages given to Subscribers, amounts yearly to	- - -	2,000,000
The Civil List, a proper allowance being included for the Establishment of the PRINCE of WALES, will on a rational, practicable plan amount yearly to	- - -	1,100,000
The Peace-Establishment, supposing the safety, engagements, and honour of the Nation provided for decently though not amply, will amount (it is presumed) yearly to at least	-	5,500,000
To carry on so wide, so extensive a range of Expenditure with any comfort, or even security; to be able at all times to answer the fair demands of the different Establishments, some Surplus will certainly be indispensably necessary. This we shall state at the small sum yearly of	- -	300,000
The Sum Total of the Annual National Disbursements for a Year of Peace is		<u>£ 16,371,346</u>
		Enormous

ENORMOUS as this sum of *Sixteen Millions Three Hundred and Seventy-one Thousand Three Hundred and Forty-six Pounds* may appear, I do in my conscience believe, that on the explained footing of a decent provision for the Necessities and Honour of Government, all paid and brought forward, Navy-Debt and all, within the year they are contracted in, it will be but scantily sufficient.

I Now come to the National Income, on which I have little to say, having already nearly exhausted the subject in my two last Pamphlets. I there stated the Net Income for the year ending on the 10th of October 1781, amounting only to Twelve Millions Twenty-two Thousand and Two Pounds, to amount to One Hundred Thousand Pounds more, from an error I had made of One Hundred Thousand Pounds on the Net Produce of the Land and Malt, by stating it so much more than the sum assigned to it in the Report of the Committee of Finance, which I now find to be rather above than under the truth. This was the

greatest sum the National Income ever produced in one year, up to the period of the 10th of October 1781.

THE Net Produce of the National Income for the year ending on the 10th of October 1782, amounts to Twelve Millions Three Hundred and Twenty-three Thousand Five Hundred and Thirty-seven Pounds; but a Deficiency, instead of a Surplus, to the alarming extent of near Four Hundred Thousand Pounds having taken place in the following Quarter ending the 5th of January 1783, the most favourable construction we can put on this matter is, that partly from accident, partly from design, the 10th of October being the shew period before Parliament of the Sinking Fund, more had been then forced forward into credit than ought to have been, and that the real fair produce that ought to have been credited scarcely amounted to Twelve Millions. This, I say, is by far the most favourable construction that can be put on this extraordinary business. For to
 imagine

imagine that the Quarter ending the 5th of January, instead of producing a Surplus, as it has generally done, of about One Hundred Thousand Pounds, should fall off to a Deficiency of near Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, would be supposing our Finance-System in a very rapid and mortal decline indeed.

FROM, therefore, all we have seen hitherto the consequence that follows is, that either by a better mode of regulation and management of the present Taxes, or by new Taxes, or partly by both, the Public Revenue must be increased in the net tangible sum of Four Millions Three Hundred and Seventy-one Thousand Three Hundred and Forty-six Pounds yearly, or the Creditors of the Public must receive proportionally to the Deficiency of our Income less than their demands on the Public: for it does not appear to me to be the interest of any-body, and least of all of the Creditors of the Public, to cut off any part of the expence that is necessary for the Public Security,

curity, or even what is requisite to give a certain degree of dignity and reputation to the Nation amongst Foreign Nations. The natural result of such false œconomy is a war, solicited by the advantage our weakness offers, which consumes more in a year than can be saved by such misunderstood parsimony in twenty.

FAR be it from me, however, to assert the absolute impossibility of such a further sum being raised annually on the Public, already quite exhausted and worn down by Taxes, as Four Millions Three Hundred and Seventy-one Thousand Three Hundred and Forty-six Pounds: but I certainly must be forgiven in thinking, that the proposition that such a sum, or any thing near it, can still be wrung from the inhabitants of this Island, is amongst the barest of all bare possibilities.

POSSIBLY so strong assertions on this subject without waiting for the facilities and increase Peace may give, may be thought premature. I

grant

grant they are in some degree so ; but the most immediate, as well as the strictest and most continued attention is necessary to watch over and balance the Incomes and necessary Expenditure of the Public : and when there is a conviction, or any thing very near to a conviction, that the first are not sufficient to answer the last, immediate intimation ought to be given to the Creditors, and the best palliative measures the nature of the case will admit of ought to be taken. If the Public, for want of this precaution, should be obliged to stop payment at once, the wound is irremediable : Credit will never be restored ; Confusion, Anarchy, and probably Civil Commotion, must ensue. Though I devoutly deprecate ever being witness to such an event, yet should it happen that a transaction with the Public Creditors must take place, though no great speculator, I will then offer (now it would not be attended to) what appears to me the most likely plan to break the force of so great a calamity.

THIS year there will be a Loan, and a very considerable one: next year there will be another Loan, not much if any thing, I think, less considerable than that for the present year. These are the halcyon days of Ministers deficiencies. Interest of Debt, and all other contingencies, may be turned into Principals, and provided for with great facility. A Loan, like Charity, covers a multitude of sins. The larger the Loan, the more the Slices to gratify Private Friendships and Public Avarice. Whether the Taxes produce or not, nobody minds or cares; yet it will be unbecoming the character of wise Ministers, or even of honest men, to let the Public fall victims to their own folly; and to swindle from them their money under pretexts and covenants (which, if the Treasury attend to what I have enjoined, and my more than conjectures are founded) they must know are deceitful, delusive, and impracticable to be fulfilled.

BUT

BUT what right have I to expect attention from great Ministers? What reason has a man of so bounded intellectual powers as not to be able to make more than four of two and two, to expect great Statesmen and Orators, such as Greece and Rome never saw, will lose a sublime thought in listening to such a poor wretched Arithmetician? Men who, having lost to the Public, Reputation, Empire, Kingdoms, Provinces, and Islands, have yet overpaid the same Public by substituting in their place about an equal number to the Provinces lost of Volumes of most excellent Parliamentary Debates, of which, the first fire of novelty being past, no man is abandoned enough of Heaven ever to have read a page.

AND now almost all being lost but our Liberties and an excellent Constitution, they mean to set fire to the latter of these; not doubting, on the soundest principles of experimental Arabian Philosophy, that from its ashes a Phenix will arise of matchless strength and beauty.

BUT enough of this ; and so help me God, as I sincerely wish success to every set of men who mean the Public Good : and I heartily pray, that the talents of our New Ministers may prove as solid as they are brilliant ; and that when the barren flowers, which grown familiar to our sight please no more, fade and fall off, a rich crop of nutritious fruit may appear, and be gathered in due time, to the great emolument of the Public. But above all let them leave off their puffing : it is the mean attribute of hungry Mountebanks. Let them by essential services if not justify, at least dignify the indirect means by which they have forced themselves into power. Having obtained almost all the State has to give, without having done any material service to the State for it, they have no reason to doubt the Public Gratitude, when excited towards them by real benefits.

THE last Ministry might, indeed, be offered as an exception to the last part of this rule. Having
 been

been disgraced for conferring on their Country the greatest, the most unequivocal of all blessings, that of a Peace, they were treated as it is told the Quaker treated a Dog that had offended him : he said, “ I will not beat thee, but I will give thee a bad name ;” so he called him *Mad*, and the neighbours without enquiring whether he was so or not, rose and knocked the poor Cur on the head.

INDEED, it much behoves our present Men of Power to make by their councils their Sovereign great ; and by doing so, to gild at least the fetters in which they are said to hold him ; his Tyrants, not his Servants ; beseeching him at the same time to be quiet, and assuring him that it is all for his good ; as the Executioners are said to have remonstrated to DON CARLOS, Prince of Spain, when they were strangling him, and he attempted to resist.

THOUGH born and bred a Whig, I hope without a crime I may assert, that the KING makes a Part

of the Constitution; that he has Rights, Pre-eminencies, Privileges, and Prerogatives: and, singular as it may appear, I hope I may be permitted to aspire at the presumptuous honour of calling myself my Sovereign's *Friend*, without being paid for being so; may, without present Emolument or future Expectations, offer my feeble endeavours to vindicate the Rights of insulted Royalty. I trust I may likewise be allowed to offer a plea for Gratitude, the fairest, finest feeling of the human heart, in opposition to Political Apathy, which has spurned at the Hand by whose bounty it was fed; and soon as confiding, unsuspecting Goodness had made the benefit irrevocable, deserting in his utmost need the kind Benefactor, has adopted hostile connections in hopes of new plunder. Was indeed, as in the days of our ancestors, the fable believed, of a bargain and sale to the DEVIL for temporary honours and emoluments, I much fear that the PRINCE OF DARKNESS would hold a Majority in the British Parliament.

I THANK

I THANK God, that, being a Man, I have still a heart that feels for human woe; still a tear to bestow on the anguish of a Mother and a QUEEN, should all her cares and virtues be ill requited. For a Father's wrongs, if he is wronged, I have likewise a tear; and a tear, and something more, for a Gracious KING, should it be attempted to degrade him.

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- " All quit their spheres, and rush into the skies;
- " Pride still is aiming at the blest'd abodes;
- " Men would be angels, angels would be gods.—
- " Cease then; nor order imperfection name,
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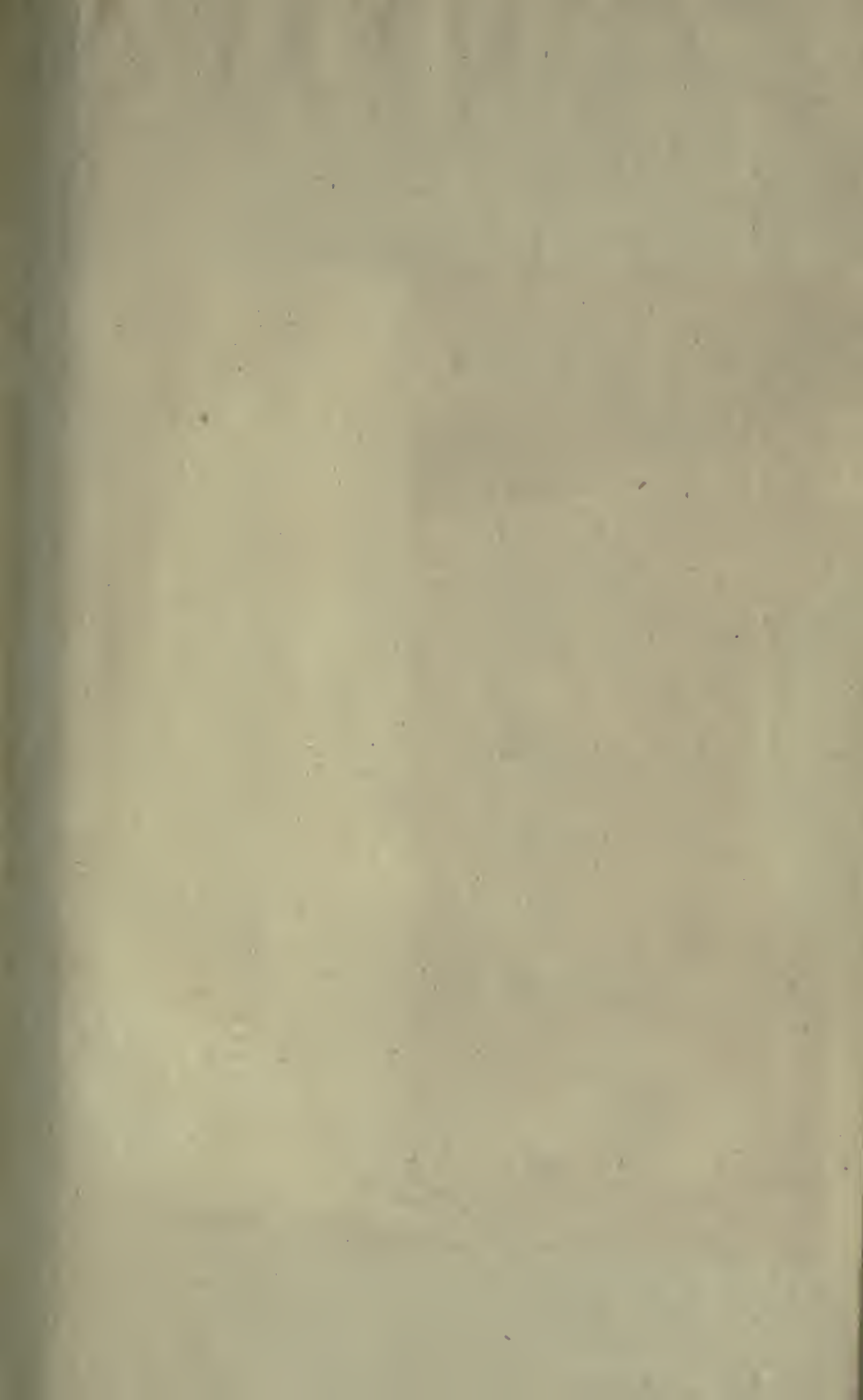
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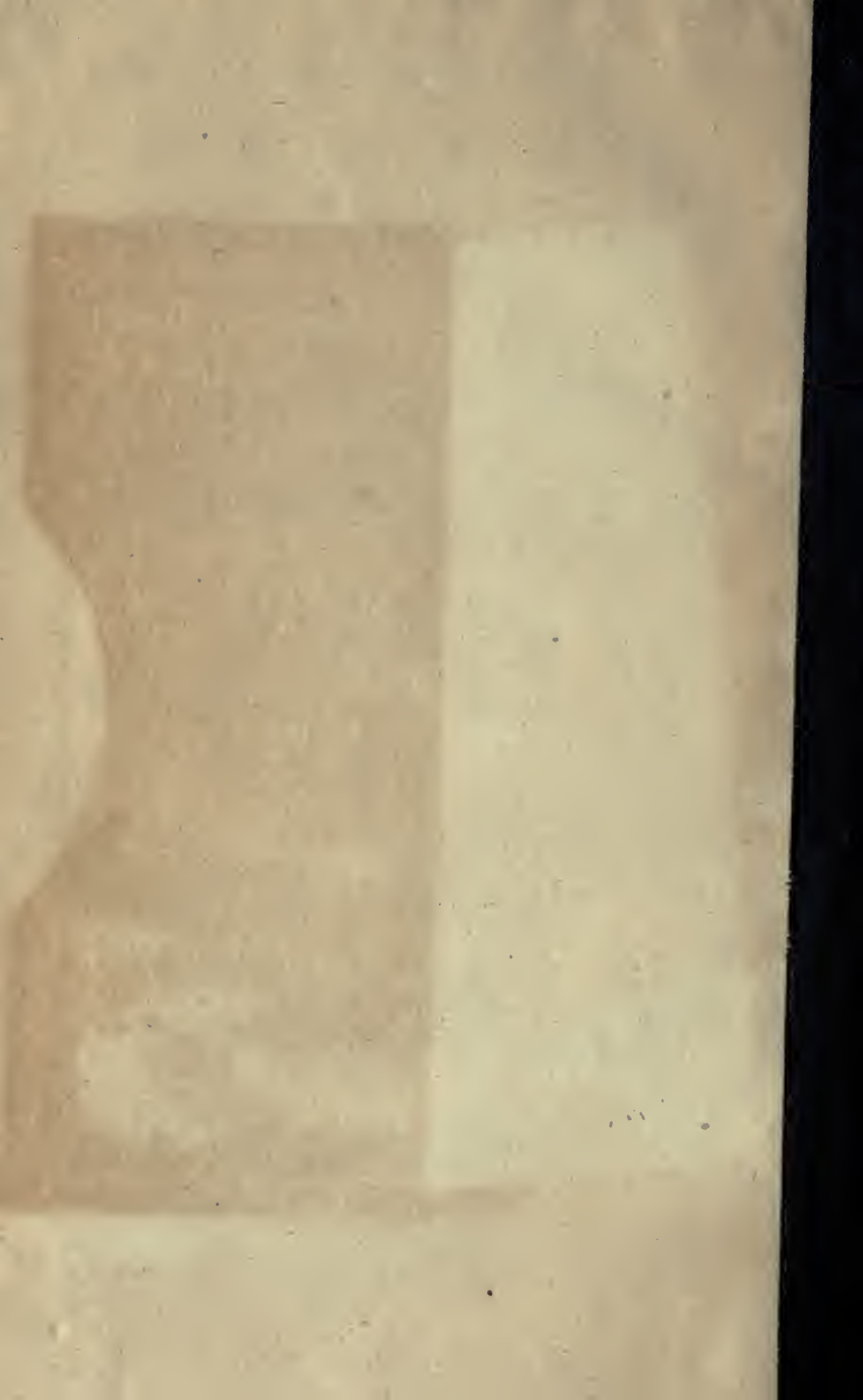
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REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET



